/11 cont./

103 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per
133 kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

4: Silva--258 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

V

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

415
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Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

/405 cont./

501 it now falls to the hand that was holding the handle to pull the blade of the oar. When someone feels tired, he interrupts the exercise, letting his companions proceed with the work. On the calm stretches of the river, or when they go downstream with the current (it is what is called to go downstream floating), it might happen that all stop rowing and entertain themselves in animated conversation.

• 505 The continuous traveling by way of rivers with dangerous cachoeiras not only gives them extraordinary endurance, but makes them brave and turns them into highly skilled navigators. A superior and serene courage, of someone who relies on his knowledge of the dangerous places and of the process to use in each one of the currents or whirlpools, and, therefore, does not fear surprises. Of someone who relies on his own strength, tested so many times at the most difficult moments; of someone who knows that, in the worst of the possibilities, if the canoe capsizes with the shock of a wave, it will still continue to float, and he will [574] be able to catch it, swimming, a few meters farther on. If some cargo is lost in this accident, he will have beijú and smoked fish at the first maloca, until his wife can prepare beijú for him again and until he catches some fish or kills some game. It is the most excellent control of the nerves that can be imagined, in any danger that the navigation presents. With these qualities it is understandable that they are the indispensable navigators of these rivers, and infuse us with great tranquility when we have them as crewmen. Frequently in the vicinities of the cachoeiras there exist native dwellings or there are Indians engaged in fishing, always ready to give help if they are asked.

According to the level of the waters, they know whether the canoe must seek one channel in preference to another, whether a rock is sufficiently covered, whether one needs to use the pole. In some cases the Indian /406/ will jump quickly from the canoe to a rock (140)

140. Those who are already dressed sometimes

/406 cont./

• 505

/footnote 140 cont./ take off the shirt and quickly leap into the water with their pants or trunks. Those who are still in a more primitive condition do not have any fear of wetting their own clothes...

that appears nearby and, with a push on the edge, makes it overcome the current, and then, in an agile jump, comes back again inside the canoe and grasps his oar. In other circumstances all the passengers must coast among the indentations of the bank, while the crew pushes the canoe upstream; or, by means of tow-ropes, pulled strongly from the rocks, they force it to go up the small cachoeiras. Or further, they unload all the baggage, and both the load and the canoe will be transported across difficult shortcuts as far as the upper part of the cachoeiras, and from there they resume normal navigation.

/407/

Chapter VIII

Social Organization

1. -- Family Group

594 The native family of the Uaupés, in the most strict and perfect sense, consists of husband, wife, and children. Indissoluble monogamy is in force among them, that is, each man will have his legitimate wife, and they are joined until death by an indissoluble bond, once the conditions prescribed by the law of the tribe are satisfied.

[592] Such will be the family, whether each one lives in its house, according to the modern tendency, or whether several families are united in the communitarian life of the maloca.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiarí, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 560 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaría* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trirá*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.